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000 565 571 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 857 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment [464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, childbearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 562 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 776 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

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565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
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[184] a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

[24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

[27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnaval. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

[28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo—Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo—are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

[29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se—the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

[30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick-lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distributed among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are visited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Almost every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

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747 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

• 796 [184] [793] The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

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The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river.

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water.

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale.

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day.

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few lit-
[535] tle barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
*[565] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days,
for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural
[794] area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.
[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed.
It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

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among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

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Prayers

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Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of
the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes
three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drum-
ming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations."
Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone
rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must
776 be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the
person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony
is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several
other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have
a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable
to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it
at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply
with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house
always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end
of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more
than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All
participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints
in the cult house and look after them personally if possible,
but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador
does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a
miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even
have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite
sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from
parents to children. Many of the younger participants have
come into the cults on their own and may be children of fam-
ilies which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a moth-
er belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the
rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremo-
nies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no
pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though
they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies.
The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with
the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	238	136	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	131	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia .... have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats .... these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixds* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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members of the .... church. .... Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females .... hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[94]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[95] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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The personages .... fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation .... pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The .... queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

[94] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[95] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ".... festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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paper, and painted various colors. The king was dressed in an old fashioned suit of divers tints, green, red, and yellow: coat, waistcoat, and breeches. His sceptre, which was of wood and finely gilt, was in his hand. The queen was in a blue silk gown, also of ancient make; and the wretched secretary had to boast of as many colors as his master; but his dress had evident appearances of each portion having been borrowed from a different quarter; for some parts were too tight, and others too wide for him. The expense of the church service was .... provided for by the Negroes .... and .... the vicar .... and his assistant priests were to chant high mass. .... At last their Majesties knelt down at the railing of the principal chapel, and the service commenced. As soon as this was over, the new king was to be installed. But as the vicar who had not breakfasted, though it was now midday, was hungry, he dispatched the matter without much ceremony. He asked for the crown, then went to the church door—the new sovereign presented himself, and was requested, or rather desired, to kneel down. The insignia were given to him; and the vicar then said, "Agora, Senhor Rei, vai te embora" (Now, Sir King, go about thy business). As the king belonged to Amparo, the eating, drinking, and dancing were to be at that place."

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Koster did not witness the subsequent ceremony, but Burton has left an account of a similar one in Minas Geraes:

A score of men, after promenading through the settlement, came to the *Casa Grande*. They were dressed, as they fondly imagined, after the style of the Agua-Rosada House,[11] descended from the great Manikongo and hereditary lords of Congo land. But the toilettes, though gorgeous with colored silks and satins, were purely fanciful, and some wore the Kanitar or plumed head-gear, and the Arasira or waist fringe, and carried the Tacape or tomahawk belonging to the red man. All were armed with sword and shield, except the king, who, in sign of dignity, carried his sceptre, a stout and useful stick. The masked old man, with white beard, trembling underjaw, *chevrotante* voice, and

[11] *Op. cit.*, II, 25–28.

[11] An interesting account of this African dynasty is given, according to Burton, in M. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveler's Life in West Africa* (London, 1861), Vol. II, chap. ii.

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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests.[93]

But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung.[94]

[93] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237–38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36–53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[94] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mametes*—those who have just been circumcised with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bemdito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird. [102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[37] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[38] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[37] On September 26, 1936. [38] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired.

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[19] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[20] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the

[19] See chap. ix.

[20] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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participants were whites and 12 were mulattoes, all light except one. There were no blacks. Whereas in a *cordão* noted, 24 were blacks, 19 were dark mulattoes, and none were whites. In 9 *batucadas*, of a total of 157 young men, 113, or 72 per cent, were blacks; 40, or 25.5 per cent, were mulattoes, all dark except one (who, although light of skin, had kinky hair); 3 were *cafusos*, and only 1 was white.

In the milling, dancing, singing crowd one ordinarily sees whites with whites, blacks and dark mulattoes with blacks and dark mulattoes, the exceptions being that a white occasionally accompanies a group of dark mulattoes and blacks, while *brancos da Bahia* and light mulattoes are often to be seen with whites. For instance, three young men, abreast, arms over each other's shoulders, danced past, singing their way into, and through, the crowd. One was a light mulatto, one a *branco da Bahia*, one a white. About twenty girls in single file danced past, each with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front, all singing, the line weaving in and out of the crowd. Among them whites and light mulattoes were indiscriminately mingled; the leader of the group was a light mulatto.

If one notes carefully the individuals who perform various functions in the Carnival parade, he is likely to find the blacks principally occupied with the menial task of guiding the horses which pull the floats, although occasionally they act as escorts or musicians. The "queen" of the Carnival and the "queens" of the Carnival clubs are all whites, the heralds are whites, as also, with rare exceptions, are the girls on the floats. For instance, of 168 young ladies from Bahia's "best" families on the floats in the Carnival parade of 1936, all were whites except 2, and these were very light mulattoes (see Table 14).

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure

TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	Caboclo	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Horsemen	14	47	42	.....	103
Horsewomen	.....	.....	16	.....	16
Trumpeters	13	.....	1	.....	14
Bandsmen	45	51	5	.....	101
Squires	111	5	1	.....	117
Girls on floats	.....	2	166	.....	168
Men on floats	.....	4	14	.....	18
Queens	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Pages	5	14	8	.....	27
Escorts	6	.....	4	.....	10
Truck-drivers	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

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563 This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are
• 796 significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

563 In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain
565 today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification.
[555] Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Do Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those languages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However, the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdí-ólá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô. Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

[794] [796] [576]

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Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[1]

The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[1] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

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The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

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In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

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Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

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The musical instruments employed include the *alabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabé* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male ceremonial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiadá*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the 794 *zelador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *zelador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninha, is a large black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de santo*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*. Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* begin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel, counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped behind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bátû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing, one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

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All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

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The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
[439] by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles, both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles, driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
[265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acaraié*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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796 signia of the *terno*. Before sunrise, the *ternos of Batuku* from the outlying area of the city known as Alto dos Pombos, of *Gata Abafa a Banca* ("the Cat 'Steals the Show' ") from Plataforma, of *Bacalhau* ("Codfish") from Estrada da Rainha, and *Filho do Arigofe* ("Son of Arigofe") from São Miguel, also appear and perform in a similar manner. Most of the black women venders and many of the celebrants will not return to their homes during the entire three days and nights of the *festa*.

On Monday the locale of the celebration shifts to Ribeiro on the opposite side of Itapagipe. Here in a large open space along the beach people crowd in by the thousands to compose informal groups of dancers, singers, and musicians, or merely promenade. People enjoy themselves for hours at a time, groups of singers and dancers dissolving only to form into new groups composed of different individuals, amid great hilarity and constant *sambas*. *Capoeira* groups form and draw [563] their circles of onlookers. Almost all the actual participants are blacks or mixed-bloods; relatively few are of undiluted European blood.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 *563 633 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

633 *563 [113]

1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 633 [103] [249] [192] From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] [363] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation [567] [167] [162] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113]

4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/64 cont./

*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of • [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 893 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual; "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 893 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were metis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

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Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. [565] In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

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* 563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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